EFFORTS OF THE PEACE PARKS FOUNDATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA; RECOGNIZING THE GROWING IMPORTANCE OF THE U.S. RELATIONSHIP WITH THE REPUBLIC OF DJIBOUTI; CONCERNING THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY IN THE REPUBLIC OF BURUNDI; COMMENDING THE REPUBLIC OF KENYA FOR ITS RECENT ELECTIONS AND CONTINUED SUCCESSFUL DEMOCRACY; HONORING THE LIFE AND WORK OF THE LATE WALTER SISULU OF SOUTH AFRICA; AND THE ISSUE OF SLAVERY AND HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN SUDAN

MARKUP

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICA

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

H. Con. Res. 80, H. Con. Res. 134, H. Con. Res. 154,H. Res. 177, H. Res. 237 and H. Res. 194

JUNE 4, 2003

Serial No. 108-20

Printed for the use of the Committee on International Relations



Available via the World Wide Web: http://www.house.gov/international_relations

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

87-574PDF

WASHINGTON: 2003

COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

HENRY J. HYDE, Illinois, Chairman

JAMES A. LEACH, Iowa DOUG BEREUTER, Nebraska CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH, New Jersey, Vice Chairman DAN BURTON, Indiana ELTON GALLEGLY, California ILEANA ROS-LEHTINEN, Florida CASS BALLENGER, North Carolina DANA ROHRABACHER, California EDWARD R. ROYCE, California PETER T. KING, New York STEVE CHABOT, Ohio AMO HOUGHTON, New York JOHN M. MCHUGH, New York THOMAS G. TANCREDO, Colorado RON PAUL, Texas NICK SMITH, Michigan JOSEPH R. PITTS, Pennsylvania JEFF FLAKE, Arizona JO ANN DAVIS, Virginia MARK GREEN, Wisconsin JERRY WELLER, Illinois MIKE PENCE, Indiana THADDEUS G. McCOTTER, Michigan WILLIAM J. JANKLOW, South Dakota KATHERINE HARRIS, Florida

TOM LANTOS, California HOWARD L. BERMAN, California GARY L. ACKERMAN, New York ENI F.H. FALEOMAVAEGA, American Samoa DONALD M. PAYNE, New Jersey ROBERT MENENDEZ, New Jersey SHERROD BROWN, Ohio BRAD SHERMAN, California ROBERT WEXLER, Florida
ELIOT L. ENGEL, New York
WILLIAM D. DELAHUNT, Massachusetts GREGORY W. MEEKS, New York BARBARA LEE, California JOSEPH CROWLEY, New York JOSEPH M. HOEFFEL, Pennsylvania EARL BLUMENAUER, Oregon SHELLEY BERKLEY, Nevada GRACE F. NAPOLITANO, California ADAM B. SCHIFF, California DIANE E. WATSON, California ADAM SMITH, Washington BETTY McCOLLUM, Minnesota CHRIS BELL, Texas

Thomas E. Mooney, Sr., Staff Director/General Counsel Robert R. King, Democratic Staff Director

SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICA

EDWARD R. ROYCE, California, Chairman

AMO HOUGHTON, New York THOMAS G. TANCREDO, Colorado JEFF FLAKE, Arizona MARK GREEN, Wisconsin DONALD M. PAYNE, New Jersey GREGORY W. MEEKS, New York BARBARA LEE, California BETTY McCOLLUM, Minnesota

Thomas P. Sheehy, Subcommittee Staff Director Malik M. Chaka, Professional Staff Member Noelle Lusane, Democratic Professional Staff Member Greg Galvin, Staff Associate

CONTENTS

	Page
MARKUP OF	
H. Con. Res. 80, Expressing the sense of Congress relating to efforts of the Peace Parks Foundation in the Republic of South Africa to facilitate the establishment and development of transfrontier conservation efforts in southern Africa H. Con. Res. 134, Acknowledging the deepening relationship between the United States and the Republic of Djibouti and recognizing Djibouti's role in combating terrorism H. Con. Res. 154, Concerning the transition to democracy in the Republic of Burundi H. Res. 177, Commending the people of the Republic of Kenya for conducting free and fair elections, for the peaceful and orderly transfer of power in their government, and for the continued success of democracy in their nation since that transition	2 6 11
Amendment to H. Res. 177 offered by the Honorable Mark Green, a Representative in Congress from the State of Wisconsin H. Res. 237, Honoring the life and work of Walter Sisulu, a critical leader in the movement to free South Africa of apartheid, on the occasion of	21
his death H. Res. 194, Regarding the importance of international efforts to abolish slavery and other human rights abuses in the Sudan Amendment to H. Res. 194 offered by the Honorable Edward R. Royce, a Representative in Congress from the State of California, and Chairman,	24 29
Subcommittee on Africa	35

EFFORTS OF THE PEACE PARKS FOUNDATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA; RECOGNIZING THE GROWING
IMPORTANCE OF THE U.S. RELATIONSHIP WITH THE REPUBLIC OF DJIBOUTI; CONCERNING THE TRANSITION TO
DEMOCRACY IN THE REPUBLIC OF BURUNDI; COMMENDING THE REPUBLIC OF KENYA FOR ITS RECENT
ELECTIONS AND CONTINUED SUCCESSFUL DEMOCRACY;
HONORING THE LIFE AND WORK OF THE LATE WALTER
SISULU OF SOUTH AFRICA; AND THE ISSUE OF SLAVERY
AND HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN SUDAN

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 4, 2003

House of Representatives,
Subcommittee on Africa,
Committee on International Relations,
Washington, DC.

The Subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 2:10 p.m. in Room 2252, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Edward R. Royce [Chairman of the Subcommittee] presiding.

Mr. ROYCE. Pursuant to notice, I call up the resolution, H. Con. Res. 80, for purposes of markup. Without objection, the resolution will be considered as read and open to amendment at any point.

Congressman Boehlert, with the support of many others of this Committee, including Vice Chairman Houghton and myself, has reintroduced legislation supporting the efforts of the Peace Parks Foundation in the Republic of South Africa. The Peace Parks Foundation, a non-profit organization, facilitates the establishment and development of transfrontier conservation areas among two or more of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries.

The purpose of the peace parks is to better allow wildlife to move freely across international borders, which will promote biodiversity, economic development and peaceful cooperation between all countries involved. The Peace Parks Foundation enjoys the full support of all heads of state of the SADC countries and is currently developing 232,000 square miles of conservation area in between. It makes sense to support initiatives that foster cooperation between countries in an area of the world where peace and stability are continually challenged.

Earlier this year, the Subcommittee held a hearing on the Congo Basin Forest Partnership, an innovative international approach to the conservation of the forest and wildlife. The Peace Parks initiative is along similar lines and deserves our support. Last year we viewed a very similar piece of legislation, and we recommended it favorably to the Full Committee.

[H. Con. Res. 80 follows:]

108TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

H. CON. RES. 80

Expressing the sense of Congress relating to efforts of the Peace Parks Foundation in the Republic of South Africa to facilitate the establishment and development of transfrontier conservation efforts in southern Africa.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

March 6, 2003

Mr. Boehlert (for himself, Mr. Royce, Mr. Houghton, Ms. Woolsey, Mr. Gilchrest, Mr. Lantos, Mr. Udall of Colorado, Ms. Eddie Bernice Johnson of Texas, Mr. Sanders, Ms. Lee, Ms. Millender-McDonald, Mr. Towns, Mr. Hastings of Florida, Ms. Slaughter, Mr. Cummings, Mr. Fattah, Mr. Payne, Mr. Faleomavaega, and Mr. Owens) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Expressing the sense of Congress relating to efforts of the Peace Parks Foundation in the Republic of South Africa to facilitate the establishment and development of transfrontier conservation efforts in southern Africa.

Whereas on February 1, 1997, the Peace Parks Foundation was established in the Republic of South Africa as a non-profit company to facilitate the establishment of transfrontier conservation areas in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries;

Whereas the overall purpose of the Peace Parks Foundation is to facilitate the establishment and development of transfrontier areas involving two or more countries without compromising national sovereignty, and allowing the free movement of humankind and animals across international borders within the peace park and thereby contributing to economic development, job creation, and peace and understanding between the countries concerned;

- Whereas former South African President Nelson Mandela is a patron emeritus of the Peace Parks Foundation and the heads of state of the SADC countries are honorary patrons of the Foundation;
- Whereas the Peace Parks Foundation has received the full support and endorsement for its efforts and activities from the heads of state of the SADC countries;
- Whereas eight transfrontier conservation areas totaling approximately 232,000 square miles are supported by the Peace Parks Foundation in the SADC countries; and
- Whereas the United States values peace and stability in the global community, and in particular Africa, and has long recognized the significance of sustainable economic development and the conservation of biodiversity: Now, therefore, be it
- 1 Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate
- 2 concurring), That it is the sense of Congress that—
- 3 (1) the United States should support efforts to
- 4 facilitate the establishment and development of
- 5 transfrontier conservation areas in the Southern Af-
- 6 rican Development Community (SADC) countries;
- 7 and

1

3

4

(2) nongovernmental organizations and founda-2 tions in the United States should be encouraged to support and promote sustainable economic development and benefits through the preservation of wild-5 life in peace parks on an expanded and inclusive 6 basis to the benefit of the countries concerned and 7 their people.

 \bigcirc

Mr. ROYCE. It is at this time that I would like to recognize the Ranking Member of the Subcommittee, Mr. Donald Payne of New Jersey, for any comments or statement he might have on this bill.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I would like to associate myself with your remarks. I just received in my office a day or two ago a beautiful book from Gabon showing all of the-I do not know if you received it, too, but fantastic photos of their parks. It certainly showed what a country that has started to preserve its wildlife can do.

This makes a lot of sense. It would be difficult for an elephant to stop at the line of South Africa and not step into Botswana, so I am glad that we are going to allow them to pass the borders without any problems.

Mr. ROYCE. It is also difficult to stop him.

Mr. PAYNE. That is right. That is why I think the legislation makes even more sense. The transfrontier area is a good bill. I commend the persons for introducing it and certainly support it wholeheartedly.

Mr. ROYCE. The Chair is aware of no amendments, so the Chair will now entertain a motion that the resolution be reported favorably.

Mr. Payne. I so move.

Mr. ROYCE. The question occurs on the motion to report the resolution favorably. All in favor say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

Mr. ROYCE. All opposed, no.

[No response.]

Mr. ROYCE. The motion is approved, and the resolution is reported favorably. The staff is directed to make any technical and conforming amendments.

Pursuant to notice, I call up the resolution, H. Con. Res. 134, for purposes of markup. Without objection, the resolution will be considered as read and open for amendment at any point.

I introduced this resolution to recognize the growing importance of the United States relationship with the Republic of Djibouti. Djibouti has been a strong ally and a beacon of stability in the conflict-torn and strategic Horn of Africa region. It also serves as a much needed voice of moderation in the Arab League and other international organizations.

The United States has much to gain from stronger ties with this republic. It is important that Congress acknowledge the support that Djibouti has provided to the United States in the war on terrorism, including its hosting of 900 U.S. troops and U.S. broad-

casting facilities.

[H. Con. Res. 134 follows:]

108TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

H. CON. RES. 134

Acknowledging the deepening relationship between the United States and the Republic of Djibouti and recognizing Djibouti's role in combating terrorism.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

April 1, 2003

Mr. Royce (for himself, Mr. Payne, Mr. Flake, and Mr. Jefferson) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Acknowledging the deepening relationship between the United States and the Republic of Djibouti and recognizing Djibouti's role in combating terrorism.

Whereas the Republic of Djibouti attained independence in 1977 and has since maintained good relations with the United States;

Whereas Djibouti lies at the junction of the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden, a strategic maritime passage;

Whereas during the first Persian Gulf War, Djibouti provided important assistance to the United States and its coalition partners, including access to its modern ports and airports;

- Whereas the Republic of Djibouti is a voice of moderation in the African Union, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, and the Arab League;
- Whereas for over a decade, Djibouti has been a force for stability in the conflict-prone Horn of Africa;
- Whereas since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, Djibouti has been a full and active partner with the United States in the global war on terrorism;
- Whereas Djibouti has hosted United States military forces for over one year and has allowed United States and other coalition military forces to conduct extensive training exercises;
- Whereas the United States Central Command has chosen Djibouti as the headquarters of the Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa, a key anchor of the United States Central Command's antiterrorist efforts;
- Whereas President Ismail Omar Guelleh of the Republic of Djibouti visited the United States in January, 2003 to discuss strengthening bilateral cooperation, economic development, and other issues, and was warmly received by President George W. Bush and members of his cabinet;
- Whereas Djibouti suffers one of the highest infant mortality rates in Africa;
- Whereas the executive branch plans to establish an office of the United States Agency for International Development in Djibouti;
- Whereas the executive branch recently established a transmission facility in Djibouti to support international broadcasting by the United States of Arabic language programs throughout the Middle East; and

Wh	ereas Djibouti is a key ally of the United States in a stra-
	tegically important region: Now, therefore, be it
1	Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate
2	concurring), That the Congress—
3	(1) acknowledges the deepening relationship be-
4	tween the United States and the Republic of
5	Djibouti;
6	(2) recognizes the support and assistance
7	Djibouti has provided in combating terrorism;
8	(3) applauds the Republic of Djibouti for wel-
9	coming the presence of United States military forces
10	for training and other purposes; and
11	(4) encourages expanded relations between the
12	United States and the Republic of Djibouti on issues
13	of importance to the two countries, including assist-
14	ance programs aimed at promoting economic devel-

opment in Djibouti.

Mr. ROYCE. I would now like to recognize Mr. Payne of New Jer-

sey if he should have a statement.

Mr. PAYNE. Yes. I certainly support this. I had the opportunity to meet with representatives from Djibouti, and when they initially agreed to continue cooperation when the threat was heightened, they were actually in jeopardy of being targeted themselves. We have seen that countries in Africa that have positive relationships with the United States tend to become targets. We saw that with Kenya. We saw that with Tanzania.

I think that this is a step in the right direction. I think we ought to do more, though, in supporting our African allies as they become the target of terrorists as they support our war on terrorism, so I hope that in the future we could even expand it to see that the cooperating countries will be able to benefit and be assisted in infrastructure and telecommunications and the things that they need. I certainly wholeheartedly support the resolution.

Mr. ROYCE. The Chair is aware of no amendments, so the Chair will now entertain a motion that the resolution be reported favor-

ably to the Full Committee.

Mr. Payne. I so move.

Mr. ROYCE. The question occurs on the motion to report the resolution favorably. All in favor say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

Mr. ROYCE. All opposed, no.

[No response.]

Mr. ROYCE. The motion is approved, and the resolution is reported favorably. The staff is directed to make any technical and conforming amendments.

Pursuant to notice, I call up resolution H. Con. Res. 154 for purposes of markup. Without objection, the resolution will be consid-

ered as read and open for amendment at any point.

This resolution concerning the Republic of Burundi was introduced by the Ranking Member, Mr. Payne. As this resolution notes, Nelson Mandela was instrumental in the negotiations that ended a decade long civil war and ushered in the current transitional government in Burundi. This civil war has left over 100,000 dead and displaced many thousands more from their homes. While there is still fighting between the government and armed extremist groups, there is hope for peace in Burundi.

As agreed to in the peace accords, presidential power was recently transferred from Pierre Buyoya to Domitien Ndayizeye. This act marks the midway point of Burundi's 36 month transitional government. The United States can help the transition by providing increased assistance and by lifting the restrictions imposed on Burundi after the 1996 coup, and that is what this resolution

calls for.

As Nelson Mandela said,

"It must be possible for the people of Burundi to materially distinguish between the destructiveness of conflict and the benefits of peace."

The Subcommittee held a hearing on this crisis in the Great Lakes Region in April. In this area, the situation in the Ituri Province of Northeastern Congo demands international attention, and I appreciate that Mr. Payne has followed up on that hearing with this resolution on Burundi and will now go to Mr. Payne for his statement.
[H. Con. Res. 154 follows:]

108TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

H. CON. RES. 154

Concerning the transition to democracy in the Republic of Burundi.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

April 12, 2003

Mr. Payne submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Concerning the transition to democracy in the Republic of Burundi.

Whereas more than 100,000 people have died and hundreds of thousands have been displaced due to the decade-long eivil war in the Republic of Burundi;

Whereas in 2001, 19 political parties from Burundi signed an historic peace agreement in Arusha, Tanzania, which was mediated by former South African President Nelson Mandela;

Whereas in November 2001, a transitional national government for Burundi was established, consisting of representatives from political parties that signed the 2001 peace agreement, with President Pierre Buyoya as interim head of state for the initial 18 months, and current Vice President Domitien Ndayizeye as successor head of

state for the remaining 18 months of the 36-month transition period;

Whereas the Government of South Africa has deployed more than 600 troops to provide protection for the politicians who are returning to Burundi and to support of the transitional national government;

Whereas although the formation of the transitional national government in Burundi offers hope for a permanent peace, Burundi still faces daunting challenges in the short-term, such as armed extremist groups which refused to sign the 2001 peace agreement and which continue to terrorize the civilian population and threaten the stability of the transitional government;

Whereas the Government of Burundi continues to face serious economic problems and a crushing external debt burden; and

Whereas hundreds of thousands of refugees from Burundi remain in desperate conditions in refugee camps in Tanzania and other neighboring countries: Now, therefore, be it

- 1 Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate
- 2 concurring), That Congress—
- 3 (1) strongly commends the efforts of former
- 4 South African President Nelson Mandela and others
- 5 involved in the historic peace agreement for the Re-
- 6 public of Burundi that was signed in 2001 in
- 7 Arusha, Tanzania;

1	(2) calls on the President to significantly in-
2	crease development and economic assistance to Bu-
3	rundi;
4	(3) strongly urges the President to work with
5	Congress to lift restrictions imposed on Burundi
6	shortly after the 1996 coup in Burundi;
7	(4) strongly urges the President, acting through
8	the Administrator of the United States Agency for
9	International Development (USAID), to establish a
10	USAID mission in Burundi;
11	(5) calls on the Administrator of USAID to
12	provide funds in support of demobilization programs
13	and to support efforts designed to bring lasting
14	peace and democracy to Burundi; and
15	(6) strongly urges the international community
16	to assist Burundi in its debt relief efforts, including
17	through the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initia-
18	tive.

 \circ

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I urge my colleagues to support this very important and timely resolution which calls on the United States to join the international community to pay close attention to and help facilitate Burundi's transition to democracy.

H. Con. Res. 154 is a piece of legislation for all who love democracy and should support this. As has been indicated, having recently emerged from a 10 year civil war, Burundi is currently at

a critical stage.

The Arusha Peace Accords negotiated by former South African President Nelson Mandela provide for power sharing to be shared between the Tutsi minority, who traditionally ruled the country, and the Hutu majority. To warrant implementation of this accord, the critical handover of the first Hutu leader occurred on April 30 with President Buyoya passing it on to new President Ndayizeye.

This is a positive development, but it must be followed up at the next stage to insure that when the automatic transition ends and Burundi then will have an election that we give the support for Burundi's fragile democracy attempting to sort out the problems that

it has had.

I would like to commend President Mandela. I attended a meeting in Arusha with many of the parties. It was a very successful meeting that led to this conclusion, but the next 18 months will be important and then the next election, so I certainly urge my colleagues to support the resolution.

Thank you.

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Flake?

Mr. Flake. Mr. Payne, is it anticipated that Burundi-does it have everything in place to qualify for the MCA? I know the framework is still being established for the validity of accounts, but is it anticipated that they will meet those guidelines?

Mr. PAYNE. We have been having meetings with the Administration attempting to find out which countries will qualify. It would

appear that the transparency ruling is just.

Although there was an agreement that there would be an 18 month President and then go to the second 18 months, there really has not been an election that they could question whether this is a democracy, but I think in light of the fragile situation there I would hope that the MCA committee would give special consideration to this very sensitive area.

The other thing that is very important is that the African countries have stepped up to the plate. South Africa has peacekeepers there, much of it done through the OAU. They are coming up with solutions to the problem, and I think that the least we could do is

to try to give assistance to a country of this nature.

We will look into that and ask our Assistant Secretary to see if that can have special consideration. Mr. Flake. Thank you.

Mr. ROYCE. Knowing of no amendments, the Chair will now entertain a motion that the resolution be reported favorably to the Full Committee.

Mr. Payne. I will move.

Mr. ROYCE. The question occurs on the motion to report the resolution favorably. All in favor say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

Mr. ROYCE. Opposed, no.

[No response.]

Mr. ROYCE. The motion is approved, and the resolution will be reported favorably. The staff is directed to make any technical and conforming amendments.

Pursuant to notice, I call up the resolution, H. Res. 177, for purposes of markup. Without objection, the resolution will be consid-

ered as read and open for amendment at any point.

Congressman Green has introduced legislation congratulating the Republic of Kenya on its recent elections and continued successful democracy. The December 2002 presidential and parliamentary and local elections which Mr. Green observed were the first free and fair elections the people of Kenya had participated in since the country won its independence in 1963.

The elections led to a transfer of power from former President Moi to President Kibaki, and this resolution recognizes their efforts to make the transformation peacefully and orderly. While great challenges lie ahead, since the elections and transfer of power, democracy has gained ground in Kenya, and it makes sense to recognize Kenya for its recent outstanding efforts in this area.

[H. Res. 177 follows:]

108TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

H. RES. 177

Commending the people of the Republic of Kenya for conducting free and fair elections, for the peaceful and orderly transfer of power in their government, and for the continued success of democracy in their nation since that transition.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

April 3, 2003

Mr. Green of Wisconsin submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

RESOLUTION

Commending the people of the Republic of Kenya for conducting free and fair elections, for the peaceful and orderly transfer of power in their government, and for the continued success of democracy in their nation since that transition.

Whereas on December 27, 2002, the Republic of Kenya successfully held presidential, parliamentary, and local elections;

Whereas these elections were widely praised by objective international observers as free and fair;

Whereas the Department of State stated that with these elections the Kenyan people "have made a strong demonstra-

1

tion of their democratic commitment and established an important example for the region and for the world";

- Whereas the European Union stated that "the overall conduct of the elections constitutes an example for other countries in the region";
- Whereas these elections signal a major step forward for Kenyan democracy, particularly when compared with other elections held in Kenya since it became an independent state in 1963;
- Whereas the transition of power put in motion by these elections culminated on December 30, 2002, when former President Daniel Toroitich arap Moi peaceably transferred the Kenyan presidency to President Mwai Kibaki; and

Whereas these elections and the subsequent transfer of power from leader to leader represent the birth of a successful new democracy in Kenya: Now, therefore, be it

- 1 Resolved, That the House of Representatives—
- 2 (1) commends the people of the Republic of
- 3 Kenya for conducting free and fair elections, and the
- 4 Government of Kenya for its successful completion
- of a peaceful and orderly transition of power;
- 6 (2) expresses its desire to see this new democ-
- 7 racy in Kenya continue to thrive, as it has in the
- 8 months following the 2002 elections;
- 9 (3) urges other African countries to look to
- 10 Kenya as an example of a working democracy in ac-

1	tion and to follow the example set by the people of
2	Kenya during this recent election process;
3	(4) reaffirms the friendship that exists between
4	the people of the United States and people of Kenya,
5	as two nations bound together by the shared values
6	of democracy;
7	(5) offers its commitment to working to ensure
8	democracy is able to grow and flourish as Kenya
9	moves into the challenging future that lies ahead;
10	and
11	(6) commends President Mwai Kibaki and his
12	government for their commitment and concrete steps
13	taken, since taking office—
14	(A) to strengthen democracy, human rights
15	and the rule of law;
16	(B) to combat corruption;
17	(C) to provide free and universal primary
18	education;
19	(D) to fight against HIV/AIDS; and
20	(E) to support the United States in the
21	war on terrorism.

Mr. ROYCE. At this time I would like to recognize the Ranking Member of the Subcommittee, Mr. Donald Payne, for any com-

ments and then go to Mr. Green.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you very much. I commend this resolution. I have been involved with Kenya for many, many years, wanting to see each election be improved. Kenya was under one party system for many years, and I think it was in 1997 when they went to a multi-party system. Two-thousand-one, this election, I think was the most transparent and best of the recent elections of a multi-party democracy.

The long-serving President Moi had a lot of flaws, but I have to say that he kept the country together. He was able to have an accord with the United States that assisted the United States in many of its tough conflicts by giving our military access to any of their bases with very short notice or no notice at all, which in many instances we were able to send an aircraft to assist United States interests, and so I think that that is something that should be commended and the fact that Kenya has resisted any kind of

civil strike during its entire independence.

Even though there were many, many flaws, corruption alleged, governance was not as well as it should have been, I think that we need to also remember that there were positive things that have moved. As a matter of fact, they also supported in 1948 with Israel coming into the debate in the United Nations, Kenya was one of the few third world countries that supported the U.S. position on the creation of the State of Israel, so I think that as we look through the history, we ought to be sure to take some of the good things in addition to those that are not so good.

Thank you.

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you, Mr. Payne.

Mr. Green?

Mr. Green. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you for bring-

ing this matter up today.

Very quickly, because I do not want to replicate the eloquent statements of both yourself and the Ranking Member, I did have the privilege of going to Kenya late last year to observe the elections, and I think the elections and that experience showed me both the challenges, which are daunting, and the wonderful opportunities and potential in Kenya.

The challenges were made clear. I was in Kenya 15 years ago doing rural development work. In those 15 years, I have seen the infrastructure deteriorate very substantially. The infrastructure in rural areas is in very poor shape indeed. There have been tremendous allegations of corruption, and certainly elections over the years have always been less than I think what many observers

would have hoped for.

Now on the positive side, these elections were by nearly everyone's account free and fair and without violence and without widespread allegations of fraud or abuse. In the days since the election, we have seen President Kibaki and the ruling coalition move quickly to stamp out corruption. They have taken aggressive action, and they have taken also great action toward fulfilling their principal campaign promise of universal free primary education. I think for all of those reasons and the reasons which Mr. Payne has pointed out in terms of their support for United States policies, I think they are very deserving of our congratulations and support. If I can, Mr. Chairman, I will be offering an amendment, which I will mention just briefly.

Mr. ROYCE. So there is an amendment before us?

Mr. Green. I have an amendment at the desk. Mr. Royce. The clerk will report the amendment.

Mr. GALVIN. Amendment offered by Mr. Green-Mr. GREEN. Unanimous consent that it be considered as read. Mr. ROYCE. Without objection. [The amendment of Mr. Green follows:]

 ${\rm 21} \\ {\rm H.L.C.}$

AMENDMENT TO H. RES. 177 OFFERED BY MR. GREEN OF WISCONSIN

Page 3, strike line 11 and all that follows through line 13 and insert the following:

- 1 (6) commends the Government of Kenya for its
- 2 commitment and concrete steps taken—

Mr. ROYCE. The gentleman is recognized.

Mr. Green. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I move to strike the last

This amendment is in response to a constructive comment made by your office making sure that this resolution emphasizes the fact that the progress that was made in these elections was not the re-

sult of merely one person.

Very obviously, in fact, it was a coalition, a very diverse coalition, which at times was tenuous, and I think many have been concerned might not be able to hold together, NARC, the National Rainbow Coalition.

This amendment simply emphasizes the fact that it was the entire Government of Kenya who has taken these steps.

Mr. ROYCE. So to clarify, it would be commending the Government of Kenva?

Mr. Green. Yes.

Mr. ROYCE. All right. Any further discussion of the amendment? [No response.]

Mr. ROYCE. The question occurs on the amendment. All in favor sav ave.

[Chorus of ayes.]

Mr. ROYCE. All opposed, nay.

[No response.]

Mr. ROYCE. The amendment passes, and the Chair will now entertain a motion that the resolution be reported favorably to the Full Committee as amended.

Mr. Payne. I so move.

Mr. ROYCE. The question occurs on the motion to report the resolution favorably as amended. All in favor say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

Mr. ROYCE. All opposed, no.

[No response.]

Mr. ROYCE. The motion is approved, and the resolution is favorably amended. The staff is directed to make any technical and conforming amendments.

Pursuant to notice, I call for the resolution, H. Res. 237, for purposes of markup. Without objection, the resolution will be consid-

ered as read and open for amendment at any point.

Congresswoman Lee has introduced this resolution honoring the life and work of the late Walter Sisulu of South Africa. Mr. Sisulu's death is a loss to all, especially to those who have fought and continue to fight for freedom everywhere. Mr. Sisulu was at the forefront of the liberation struggle and fought to bring democracy and equality to all South Africans.

Freedom, though, comes at a price, and Mr. Sisulu paid that price by serving 26 years in prison for treason against the apartheid regime. Following his release and the 1994 election of his friend and fellow Robin Island prison inmate, Nelson Mandela, as President, Sisulu declined a position in government. He believed that true change came at the grassroots level, and that is where

he wanted to be.

President Bush, in his statement on the death of Mr. Sisulu, described him as a man of great moral and strategic vision. This resolution expresses a similar sentiment, and I would now like to recognize the Ranking Member, Mr. Donald Payne, for his statement and then go to Congresswoman Lee of California. [H. Res. 237 follows:]

108TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

H. RES. 237

Honoring the life and work of Walter Sisulu, a critical leader in the movement to free South Africa of apartheid, on the occasion of his death.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

May 15, 2003

Ms. Lee (for herself, Mr. Lantos, Mr. Payne, and Mr. Meeks of New York) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

RESOLUTION

- Honoring the life and work of Walter Sisulu, a critical leader in the movement to free South Africa of apartheid, on the occasion of his death.
- Whereas Walter Sisulu, a critical leader in the movement to free South Africa of apartheid, died on Monday, May 5, 2003;
- Whereas Sisulu helped free both black and white people from the bondage of segregation while driving home the concept of equality for all;
- Whereas Sisulu, along with Nelson Mandela, was imprisoned for 26 years for his role in seeking true democratic representation in South Africa;
- Whereas, in 1910, the Union of South Africa established a whites only government that limited voting rights and im-

plemented South Africa's segregation policy, and, in 1948, the National Party won an all-white general election on a campaign promise to introduce a system of apartheid to totally separate the races;

Whereas opposition to the apartheid system by the black majority was ruthlessly suppressed until 1994, and during that time Sisulu fought tirelessly against this policy, sacrificing his life to free black South Africans;

Whereas, after the victory over apartheid, Sisulu did not take a position in the new government but instead worked in the community to advance the quality of life for the average man and woman that the former government had so long ignored; and

Whereas Sisulu had a vision of a united and representative government that serves the needs of all its people, and dared to dream and worked to build such a united and representative government: Now, therefore, be it

- 1 Resolved, That the House of Representatives honors
- 2 the life and work of Walter Sisulu, a critical leader in the
- 3 movement to free South Africa of apartheid, on the occa-
- 4 sion of his death.

0

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I certainly concur more with the remarks and with the content of this resolution. As you may recall, at one of our last hearings we paid tribute to Mr. Sisulu's contributions at a hearing, and I think that H.Con. 237

certainly puts it in writing, so to speak.

Let me just say that Mr. Sisulu was, as you mentioned, one of the real leaders of the Robin Island trio really. There was Mr. Mandela, of course, and Mr. Sisulu and Mr. Mbeki. They were sort of the three pillars that managed the struggle for an anti-apartheid, democratic South Africa even confined to Robin Island, so it is certainly a loss. Even Mr. Mandela credits his success to Mr. Sisulu.

Mr. Sisulu is one of the great South Africans, and we certainly are saddened at his death.

I yield back, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ROYCE. Congresswoman Lee?

Ms. Lee. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Let me thank you for bringing this resolution forward for this hearing and thank you for your support. Also, I would like to thank our Ranking Member for his support and for his leadership with regard to all the issues faced on the African continent.

You know, this resolution pays tribute to Walter Sisulu, who, as we all know, was a great human being. Many of us had the privilege to meet Mr. Sisulu on several occasions, and I personally, when I first met him, was struck by his humility, his quiet strength, his intellect and his sense of justice.

He also, might I remind you, was the father-in-law of former Ambassador Sheila Sisulu, who served her country here in America for many years with great distinction and great honor as an effective

Ambassador.

As Nelson Mandela said at Mr. Sisulu's memorial service, he called him the people's servant. Walter Sisulu helped free both black and white from the bondage of segregation, while really driving home the concept of equality for all, and he, along with Nelson Mandela, as Mr. Payne mentioned, was imprisoned at Robin Island for 26 years—26 years—for his role in seeking true democratic representation.

In 1910, the Union of South Africa established a white only government that limited voting rights. It implemented South Africa's segregation policy then. In 1948, the National Party won an all-white general election on a campaign promise to introduce a system of apartheid to totally separate the races. Opposition to the apartheid system by the black majority was ruthlessly suppressed, and a system based on white supremacy remained until 1994.

Walter Sisulu fought tirelessly against the policy of apartheid, sacrificing his life to free black South Africans and to demonstrate the powers of representative democracy. In the word of Nelson Mandela, he was blessed with that quality that always saw the good in others, and, therefore, he was able to bring out the goodness. He had an inexhaustible capacity to listen to others, and, therefore, he was able to encourage others to explore ideas.

In closing, the Administration, Chairman Royce, our Ranking Member and others have applauded Walter Sisulu's vision of a united and representative government that serves the needs of all people. That vision really does remain a model for all of us, and for that he commands and deserves our respect.

I thank my colleagues for their support for this resolution, and I hope it is quickly brought to the Floor.

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you, Congresswoman Lee.

Congressman Houghton?

Mr. HOUGHTON. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I would like to thank you and Mr. Payne and Mrs. Lee for their comments.

John Lewis and I had the opportunity about a week ago of visiting Mrs. Sisulu in her home. As you know, Albertina was an equal partner in the great contribution that he made, so I just wanted to report to you that she was well, and the spirit of her and her husband remains very, very strong.

Thank you very much.

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you. Our thoughts also go to Sheila Sisulu.

Mr. HOUGHTON. Yes.

Mr. ROYCE. Any other comments by any of the Members of the Committee?

Mr. Meeks?

Mr. MEEKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I just wanted to add that when you look at the contributions during the life of Mr. Sisulu, it reminds me of one of our own, Dr. King here. Mr. Sisulu lived that life, and that is injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.

What Mr. Sisulu's life was all about was creating justice for those irrespective of color, as Dr. King's fight was here so that we could free people and make sure that we had a true democracy.

Although often times when you think of the 26 years of incarceration the first name that comes to your mind is Mr. Mandela, but, as he clearly indicated, they are partners, just as here in America we think of Dr. King, but we know our own John Lewis, who was here in Congress with us, and Whitney Young and many others were partners with Dr. King. They were partners, and they together caused the world to change.

I think that Mr. Sisulu's legacy is indeed a positive one that will be recorded by history as a world changing event, and certainly I thank the gentlelady from California for bringing this most admirable resolution to this Committee and surely support it.

Mr. Royce. Thank you, Mr. Meeks.

Any other comments?

[No response.]

Mr. ROYCE. The Chair will now entertain a motion that the resolution be reported favorably to the Full Committee.

Mr. HOUGHTON. I so move.

Mr. ROYCE. The question occurs on the motion to report the resolution favorably. All in favor say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

Mr. ROYCE. All opposed, no.

[No response.]

Mr. ROYCE. The motion is approved, and the resolution is reported favorably. The staff is directed to make any technical and conforming amendments.

We now go to the last bill in our markup today. Pursuant to notice, I call up the resolution, H. Res. 194, for purposes of markup.

Without objection, the resolution will be considered as read and

open for amendment at any point.

I commend the work of Representative Payne and others for raising the issue of slavery and human rights abuses in Sudan. This resolution states that human rights abuses and slavery in Sudan remain a matter of the most profound concern.

Unfortunately, since the resolution was introduced the U.N. Commission on Human Rights decided not to renew Sudan's status as an Item 9 country, which ended the appointment of the Special Rapporteur to Sudan, who had done valuable human rights reporting. As a result, I intend to introduce an amendment updating the resolution by expressing disappointment in this woeful decision.

[H. Res. 194 follows:]

108TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

H. RES. 194

Regarding the importance of international efforts to abolish slavery and other human rights abuses in the Sudan.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

APRIL 10, 2003

Mr. Capuano (for himself, Mr. Payne, Mr. Wolf, Mr. Abercrombie, Mr. Frank of Massachusetts, Mr. Rangel, Mr. Smith of New Jersey, and Mr. Wexler) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

RESOLUTION

Regarding the importance of international efforts to abolish slavery and other human rights abuses in the Sudan.

Whereas the efforts of the government of Khartoum to subjugate the peoples of the southern Sudan have led to the death of more than 2,000,000 persons and the displacement of another 4,000,000 persons;

Whereas the 2001 State Department Country Report on Human Rights estimates that between 5,000 and 15,000 Dinka women and children have been abducted during the past 15 years, and that between 10,000 and 12,000 persons remain in captivity;

- Whereas credible observers report that some of the abductees were sold into slavery and others used as forced labor or drafted into the military, including children;
- Whereas the 2002 State Department Country Report on Human Rights notes that persons held in government controlled "Peace" camps for internally displaced persons were reportedly subjected to forced labor;
- Whereas the Special Rapporteur for Sudan to the General Assembly of the United Nations concluded, on November 4, 2002, that the dire human rights situation in Sudan had not significantly changed;
- Whereas the United States Civilian Protection Monitoring Team (CPMT) reported in February 2003 that militia allied with the Government of Sudan and supported directly by Government of Sudan troops continued to abduct civilians in the western Upper Nile region of Sudan;
- Whereas subsequent to the February 2003 report of the Civilian Protection Monitoring Team, the Government of Sudan has restricted the movements of the CPMT and prevented it from carrying out its mandate;
- Whereas the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights declares "[n]o one shall be held in slavery or servitude: slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms";
- Whereas numerous human rights organizations, including Christian Solidarity International, the Center for Religious Freedom of Freedom House, and the American Anti-Slavery Group have demanded an end to slavery in

- all its forms and, in particular, to the abuses practiced by the Government of Sudan;
- Whereas the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People adopted, in May 1995, a Resolution to Combat Modern Day Slavery stating that slavery in Sudan was an "irrefutable fact, corroborated by numerous sources," and pledging that "we will not rest until these slaves are freed";
- Whereas the House of Representatives has repeatedly decried human rights abuses in Sudan and called for the abolition of the slave trade and of chattel slavery in Sudan;
- Whereas the House of Representatives committed itself to practical measures to suppress the slave trade and chattel slavery in the Sudan by the passage, by a vote of 359–8, in the 107th Congress of H.R. 5531, the "Sudan Peace Act", and the Senate passed a similar measure, S. 180, unanimously;
- Whereas the United Nations Commission on Human Rights is now conducting its 59th session in Geneva from March 17 through April 25, 2003;
- Whereas the United States rejoined the United Nations Commission on Human Rights having been elected to a three-term beginning in 2003;
- Whereas the head of the United States delegation to the United Nations Commission on Human rights, Ambassaador Jeane Kirkpatrick, declared in her opening address that "[t]he Commission has the solemn duty to speak for those who are denied the right to speak for themselves";
- Whereas Human Rights Watch and many other concerned persons and organizations have called upon the United

Nations Commission on Human Rights to renew the mandate of the Special Rapporteur on human rights for Sudan, and to condemn gross abuses of human rights and violations of international humanitarian law by the Sudanese Government and rebel Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) forces; and

Whereas the current session of United Nations Commission on Human Rights will be discussing whether to change the status of Sudan from "Item 9", country with grave human rights problems justifying the appointment of a Special Rapporteur to investigate abuses and to report on them, to a lesser level of concern: Now, therefore, be it

- 1 Resolved, That is the sense of the House of Rep-
- 2 resentatives that—

7

8

9

10

- (1) slavery, under any circumstances, is an un conscionable practice;
- (2) the subjection inherent in slavery inevitably
 leads to other abuses, including torture and rape;
 - (3) human rights abuses and slavery in Sudan remain a matter of the most profound concern;
 - (4) the United States must resist attempts to ignore or condone these outrages;
- 11 (5) the United States must support the mainte-12 nance, by the United Nations Commission on 13 Human Rights, of Sudan as an "Item 9" country,
- 14 requiring a Special Rapporteur; and
- (6) the United States should encourage the
 United Nations to consider reinstating sanctions

1	against Sudan and urge the European Union, the
2	African Union, and all others who express concern
3	for human freedom and dignity to be engaged in ac-
4	tivities that will convince Sudan to abolish slavery
5	and respect human rights.

 \circ

I will now turn to Mr. Payne to speak on this bill.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I would like to commend you for the support that you have given this situation as Chairman of the Subcommittee. Without your attention, I do not

think we would be as far along as we are.

Beyond the wrongful death of more than 2,000,000 people and displacement of some 400,000 others, the National Islamic Front Government of Sudan is responsible for the heinous crimes and human rights abuses. This government is guilty of targeting civilians and civilian areas for bombing, including schools and churches.

Relief areas about a year ago got fired on, assault type helicopters fired on lines of people waiting for food assistance. There were over 40 people who were killed just because they were trying to get some food to feed their families. There have been many, many civilian casualties in that bad situation.

That there is modern day slavery in parts of the world is unthinkable in the 21st century. Whether it be in Mauritania or Sudan, slavery is simply unequivocally wrong, and yet between 5,000 and 15,000 women and children, mostly Dinka from the south of Sudan, have been abducted and forced into labor during

the last 15 years. This is totally unacceptable.

While the peace process in Sudan is progressing along at an encouraging rate, and we appreciate the work of Senator Danforth as a Special Envoy, we believe that there is some progress and both sides are still negotiating. The treatment of human beings abuses have not disappeared. In fact, in November 2002 the U.N. Special Rapporteur to Sudan stated that the human rights situation had not changed significantly.

Even as late as February of this year, the Civilian Protection Monitoring Team reported that abduction in Upper Nile region was still taking place and that this was perpetrated by militia funded

and supported by the NIF Government of Sudan.

As has been indicated, the U.N. did change the status of Sudan with the 26 to 24 vote with three abstentions, changing the human rights status from an Item 9 country. I will certainly support the resolution by the Chairman expressing our problem with that vote. That vote sends the wrong message. It sends a message that slavery should be condoned.

We feel that human rights of all citizens are of the utmost concern, and we certainly support that justice should prevail. With that, I urge my colleagues to support the resolution.

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you, Mr. Payne.

I have an amendment at the desk which has been suggested by the bill's sponsor. I will ask the clerk to read that amendment.

Mr. GALVIN. Amendment offered by Mr. Royce. In the seventh clause of the preamble, strike "has restricted" and insert "restricted." In the third—

Mr. ROYCE. Without objection, the amendment will be considered as read

[The amendment of Mr. Royce follows:]

 ${\rm 35} \\ {\rm H.L.C.}$

AMENDMENT TO H. RES. 194 OFFERED BY MR. ROYCE

In the 7th clause of the preamble, strike "has restricted" and insert "restricted".

In the 13th clause of the preamble, strike "is now conducting" and insert "conducted".

Strike the 14th clause of the preamble.

Amend the last clause of the preamble to read as follows:

Whereas the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, by a vote of 26 to 24 with 3 abstentions, refused to classify Sudan as an "Item 9" country, one in which grave human rights problems justify the appointment of a Special Rapporteur to investigate abuses and to report on them: Now, therefore, be it

Page 4, line 9, strike "resist" and insert "condemn".

Page 4, strike line 11 and all that follows through line 14 and insert the following:

- 1 (5) the United States must make clear to all
- 2 members of the United Nations Commission on
- 3 Human Rights that the refusal to condemn slavery

36

H.L.C.

in Sudan undermines any moral authority that the

2 Commission might seek to exert in other areas;

Page 4, strike line 15 and all that follows through line 5 on page 5 and insert the following:

- 3 (6) the United States must work to re-classify
- 4 Sudan as an "Item 9" country, requiring a Special
- 5 Rapporteur at the next session of the United Na-
- 6 tions Commission on Human Rights; and

Page 5, after line 5, add the following:

- 7 (7) the United States should encourage the
- 8 United Nations to consider reinstating sanctions
- 9 against Sudan and should urge the European Union,
- 10 the African Union, and all others who express con-
- 11 cern for human freedom and dignity to be engaged
- in activities that will convince Sudan to abolish slav-
- ery and respect human rights.

Mr. ROYCE. By way of explanation, this amendment modifies the resolution to reflect the recent vote by the U.N. Commission on Human Rights and to say that the United States should work to reclassify Sudan as an Item 9 country.

Is there discussion on the amendment? Mr. Tancredo?

Mr. TANCREDO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I certainly want to

support the amendment and thank you for offering it.

I was concerned even earlier when in response to the Sudan Peace Act, the Administration indicated that they believed that enough progress had been made on both sides in the Civil War. Sudan is acceptable in terms of again the progress that had been made. I do not think enough progress had been made, and I am certainly quite concerned about this vote.

This is something, you know, moving into this category, a vote to do so in the U.N. does really nothing to advance the cause of peace in the region because it, in a way, rewards the Government in Khartoum for inaction in moving quickly enough to accomplish the goals that were set out by the Peace Act, and it also rewards them for the wrong action, the actions that have been taken and identified here already by other Members in terms of the egregious violation of human rights that still goes on in Sudan.

I just want to say I commend you, Mr. Chairman, for the amendment and sponsors of the resolution for their action here.

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you, Mr. Tancredo.

Any other discussion?

Mr. PAYNE. Yes, Mr. Chairman. Let me indicate my support for the amendment.

I would also like to commend Mr. Tancredo for the support that he and Mr. Wolf have given throughout the years on Sudan. Many of us may not recall, but I think for the first time we raised some eyebrows around both Houses, the Administration and in Sudan when the House passed the capital markets sanction. I do not know if many of us will forget that, but we—

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Tancredo will not.

Mr. TANCREDO. I am not too sure many people remembered it happened or actually knew it happened when it did.

Mr. PAYNE. That is right. What that meant, for those of you who are not familiar with it, it simply meant that oil companies that need an awful lot of infusion of cash from Wall Street could not borrow from Wall Street to move forward with their oil exploration.

It kind of shook the whole—I do not think the Africa Subcommittee ever had a comment from Greenspan until we passed that resolution. Eyebrows went up, and Sudan became a country that more people have some concerns about.

Much of the progress that has gone on has not always been because this government has a change of heart, but sometimes when you start talking about hurting people in the pocketbook the way that they have hurt people in the south, or we talked about hurting those companies that were continuing, a Canadian company that already had sold its shares. I forgot the name of it. What was the name of that company?

Mr. TANCREDO. Talisman.

Mr. PAYNE. Talisman. Do you remember Talisman? Sure. We were starting to get based on a divestment any kind of a state fund in companies that did business in Sudan.

We have to fight these injustices on many fronts, and I want to again commend the Committee that stood behind those capital market sanctions. They did not go into effect, but we are seeing

many of the things that we were attempting to do.

We have a long way to go, and we need to keep the pressure on and review carefully and keep the pressure on the Administration. In 6 months when the report comes up that we make sure that it is being evaluated properly so that we can have the truth and keep the pressure on the Sudan Government.

Mr. ROYCE. Would the gentleman yield?

Mr. Payne. Yes.

Mr. Royce. Would the gentleman concur that should progress not be made in Sudan that having passed capital market sanctions once that this Committee, this Subcommittee and this House will probably pass it the second time and include with it a campaign of divestment and a campaign to try to reinstate sanctions against Sudan in the international community?

Mr. PAYNE. I would be very pleased for us to take a look at the

next report and then move in that direction.

Mr. ROYCE. I think that is the feeling of this Committee, and I am very hopeful that this particular piece of legislation that we are passing today reinforces the message that progress must continue.

Should it not, there will be serious consequences, and this House will move back toward its position on capital market sanctions.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you. Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Flake?

Mr. Flake. I want to commend the work of Mr. Payne and Mr. Tancredo on this issue. They have really stayed at it and have been determined. I appreciate that.

I just wanted to note for the record that one of the evebrows that was raised after the capital market sanctions was mine, and it remains raised. I do have concerns about that for that purpose. I was one of the two and maybe one of the eight I guess who did vote against it.

If we could limit it to Sudan it might be one thing, but I fear that, as has been the case often in Africa, we have imposed sanctions and moved on not realizing what vestiges remain sometimes, in particular for small countries.

For that reason I oppose it, but I certainly admire the work and agree with your assessment of the situation there.

Mr. ROYCE. Just in responding, we are all purists on some issues, and I was on this one up until our patience were tried beyond endurance by the human rights abuses in Sudan.

Like you, I really hope that we can do this without capital market sanctions, but should it come to it I think the Congress has telegraphed its feeling about this once, and I think we are absolutely committed to making certain that this peace process holds.

I again thank the gentleman for bringing his bill before us today. I think weMr. PAYNE. Would the gentleman yield? On the problem of changing law once it has gone into effect and all of the criteria have been satisfied, I was kind of putting the cart before the horse.

I do believe that even with South Africa with its sanctions, it did take time for the sanctions to be taken off and go back to individual states. However, had the sanctions not been imposed I think that the whole question of coming to a non-racial, democratic, new South Africa would have been delayed many, many years in the future.

It did take time to get some of the state sanctions off. However, had they not been put on originally perhaps we still would have had an apartheid government, so I would say that getting these off after they have been imposed is or can be a problem.

However, I think that if we do nothing, as we saw when we passed it, it lit up the Congress. It lit up the Administration. It lit up Wall Street. They started to push more. They started to talk.

They started to take it seriously.

We will cross that bridge when we come to it, but I do want to thank the Chairman for his strong support and Mr. Tancredo and Mr. Wolf and others who have been there. I know in your heart you know we are right. We will work on that.

Mr. ROYCE. The question occurs on the amendment. All those in favor say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

Mr. ROYCE. All opposed, nay.

[No response.]

Mr. ROYCE. The amendment passes, and the Chair will now entertain a motion that the resolution be reported favorably to the Full Committee as amended.

Mr. HOUGHTON. I move it.

Mr. ROYCE. The question occurs on the motion to report the resolution favorably as amended. All in favor say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

Mr. ROYCE. All opposed, no.

[No response.]

Mr. ROYCE. The motion is approved, and the resolution is re-

ported favorably.

Lastly, without objection, the resolution will be reported favorably to the Full Committee in the form of a single amendment in the nature of a substitute incorporating the amendments adopted here today. Without objection, the staff is directed to make any technical and conforming amendments.

Our Subcommittee stands adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 2:50 p.m. the Subcommittee was adjourned.]